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man, whose youth saw the foundation of our government, and whose maturity has been spent in exercising some of its highest offices ; who was born on our soil, educated amid our people, exposed to all the malign and beneficent influences of our society ; and who has acquired high station by no sinuous path, by no sacrifice of manliness, principle, or individuality, but by a straight-forward force of character and vigor of intellect. A fame such as he has obtained is worthy of the noblest ambition ; it reflects honor on the whole nation ; it is stained by no meanness, or fear, or subserviency ; it is the result of a long life of intellectual labor, employed in elucidating the spirit of our laws and government, in defending the principles of our institutions, in disseminating enlarged views of patriotism and duty, and in ennobling, by the most elevated sentiments of freedom and religion, the heroical events of our national history. And we feel assured, when the animosities of party have been stilled at the tomb, and the great men of this generation have passed from the present feverish sphere of excitement into the calm of history, that it will be with feelings of unalloyed pride and admiration, that the scholar, the lawyer, the statesman, the orator, the *American*, will ponder over the writings of Daniel Webster.

ART. III. — *The Life, Voyages, and Exploits of Admiral Sir Francis Drake, Knt., with numerous original Letters from him and the Lord High Admiral to the Queen and great Officers of State : compiled from MSS. in the State Paper Office, British Museum, and the Archives of Madrid, never before published.* By JOHN BARROW, Esq. John Murray, Albemarle Street, London. 1843. 8vo. pp. 428.

MR. BARROW has shown commendable diligence in the collection of his materials ; but we cannot compliment him very highly on the skill with which he has employed them. There are few names more conspicuous than that of Drake in the naval annals of his country ; yet, both in his high qualities and his infirmities, he was one of a very singular

class of men. The military and nautical adventurers of three centuries ago were in some respects not unlike the countries which they overran ; combining the grace of civilization with portentous traits of barbarism ; an odd union of Sir Philip Sidney and Captain Kidd ; of knightly bearing with the rapacious qualities of the picaroon ; of edifying devotion with a practical repeal of the decalogue. Some appear to think, that nothing more is needed, in order to vindicate them, than to show, that they acted in conformity with the spirit of their time ; but the amount of this description of apology is, that others were as bad as they ; and, even in far darker periods, the names of many may be found, who still shine gloriously among the lights of this world. No doubt, the influences of the age are to be considered, in forming a just estimate of their character ; for that which is far from giving lustre may screen from condemnation ; and there was something altogether peculiar in the prevailing sentiment of the age of which we speak. In eulogizing its distinguished men, we too often find ourselves compelled to adopt the qualified style of panegyric with which Baillie Jarvie defended his kinsman, the freebooter Rob Roy, against the taunts of his brethren of the city council : “ I tauld them,” said the conscientious magistrate, “ that I would vindicate nae man’s faults ; but set apart what Rob had done again the law o’ the country, and the misfortune o’ some folk losing life by him, and he was an honestest man than stude on ony o’ their shanks.”

At this period, the soundest heads were turned by the miraculous results of Spanish and Portuguese discovery. New worlds had just been brought to light, blazing with barbaric pearl and gold ; surpassing, in affluence and resources, the wildest dreams of over-heated fancy ; wrapped, by the glowing narratives of those who were the first to visit them, with an indefinite and mysterious beauty. Who can wonder, that the issue of an enterprise like that of Cortés, in which the matchless brilliancy of the prize, and the commanding qualities that won it, threw an unnatural glory over fraud and rapine, should have kindled a flame in daring hearts, compared with which the most consuming fever of modern speculation is cold and still ? The proudest nobles forgot their pride of place, and rushed at once into commercial schemes, in which romantic bravery was to gild rapacity and

violence, and men were to be slaughtered like wild game, with the view of saving their souls. If it were too late for them to discover new worlds of their own, they were just in time to profit by the enterprise of others.

In England, where the fever raged as high as elsewhere, there were especial reasons which directed the attention of adventurers to the Spanish dominions in America. As the head of the only commanding Protestant power in Europe, Queen Elizabeth was the object of bitter aversion to the Catholic sovereigns, and, in particular, to Philip the Second, the most potent of them all. It was at her devoted head, that the bull, ordaining the excommunication and deposing of all heretic princes, was directed by Paul the Fourth, the same conscientious pontiff, at whose instigation the memorable interviews took place between Philip and Catherine de Medici, the queen dowager, most eminently worthy of the appellation which Gray destined for another, that of "she-wolf of France." The Duke of Alva, a fit partaker of their conferences, implored them to extinguish heresy by a massacre of all the Protestants ; but the shrewder sovereigns were apprehensive, that so summary a measure would be indiscreet, and resolved to confine their religious operations to the murder of the leaders, in such manner and at such times as they might respectively find most convenient. From this strange compact subsequently flowed the indescribable atrocities of Alva in the Low Countries, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew at Paris. Mean time, Elizabeth and her far-sighted counsellors were watching these bloody and portentous events with awe and fear ; the fear which measures danger, not that which shrinks from facing it. Fear is everywhere the parent of cruelty ; and it was this that led her into a course of policy sufficiently glorious in its results, according to the common estimate of glory, but low and tortuous, and blackened by evil deeds, which, however they may affect the reputation of the queen, were fatal to her fair fame as a woman. The might of England was not yet sufficiently commanding to enable her to meet her enemies in open war ; but a ten years' war could not have kindled in the parties a feeling of more deadly hatred. In the eyes of the Spaniards, the English were the enemies of the faith, doomed to destruction by their holy oracles ; while to the Englishman, the very name of Spaniard was an utter abomination.

Though the respective sovereigns found it convenient to preserve the ostensible relations of amity, each looked with great complacency upon every effort to annoy or break the power of the other. All this was perfectly understood ; their attitude was that of combatants who are exchanging cold civilities, while each surveys the other in order to detect the best place for a mortal blow. In considering the character and acts of the adventurers of this time, therefore, it should not be forgotten, that, beside being impelled by a prevailing spirit, shared equally by the low and high, they were at least not discouraged by the government, which wanted only strength and opportunity to make their cause its own.

Stow, and most writers after him, have stated, that Drake was born in or about the year 1545. How large a space of time may be included in the term *about* does not distinctly appear. Mr. Barrow affirms with positiveness, that he was born in or after 1539. By way of confirming this statement, he refers to a miniature portrait belonging to the Earl of Derby, painted in 1581 ; on it is marked the age of Drake at the time when it was executed ; and this fixes the date of his birth in 1539, the earliest time assigned by Mr. Barrow. There is, however, another portrait in Buckland Abbey, painted in 1594, which carries the date forward to 1541. Here is, indeed, a conflict of authorities, which serve to establish the period of Drake's nativity with about as much precision as some of our New England brethren have been said by slanderers to describe the place of theirs, as being "all along the shore." Stow's account is consistent neither with probability, nor with itself. He says, that Drake was eighteen years old, when he was made purser of a "ship to Biscay," twenty when he went to Guinea, and twenty-two when he was made a captain at San Juan de Ulua. This statement allows no time in which he could have sailed with Captain Lovell, as he unquestionably did ; and, moreover, he was not made a captain at San Juan de Ulua. Mr. Barrow appears to wish to carry back the date as far as he can, consistently with the authority of the Earl of Derby's portrait, and with the account of Camden, who knew Drake personally, and who states, that he derived his baptismal name from his godfather, Sir Francis Russell, who is said to have been born in 1527, and could have been but twelve years old in 1539. But the age of the godfather would

have been very little more mature in 1541. At the hazard of still more confounding the confusion, we will venture to suggest, that the actual date of Drake's birth was earlier than would appear from any of these authorities ; as early, at least, as 1537. Sir Francis Drake is known to have been the eldest of twelve sons. Thomas, the youngest, accompanied him in the voyage round the world in 1577. Allowing a difference of twenty-two years between the ages of the brothers, and there can hardly have been less, Thomas would have reached the age of eighteen at the time of this voyage. Admitting the accuracy of the date assigned by Stow for the birth of the elder brother, it is scarcely conceivable, that Thomas could have been old enough at that time to hold any office of responsibility ; his eldest brother could have been but thirty-two ; yet we learn that Thomas, very early in the voyage, was placed by his brother in command of a Portuguese prize. It seems more probable, too, that Sir Francis Drake had, at this period, reached the age of forty, than that the charge of such an expedition should have been committed to younger hands. After all, in the absence of explicit testimony, we must be content to leave the question involved in much of its original obscurity.

The author of "*Sir Francis Drake Revived*," believed to have been the nephew of the Admiral, says, with provoking modesty, that he could have told us more than he has done, but "I had rather thou shouldest enquire of others, than to seeme myselfe a vain-glorious man." Posterity would, we imagine, have preferred that the worthy man had been somewhat puffed up, to being thus referred for information to others, no two of whom have the same tale to tell. Miss Martineau thought, that one of our eminent men looked as if he had never been born ; and we are inclined to believe, that the distinguished personages who flourished three centuries ago were born at no particular time. The son of Columbus could throw no light upon the question respecting the time of his father's birth. Dr. Robertson assigns 1447 as the date of that event, and Mr. Irving is persuaded that it took place twelve years earlier ; Mr. Prescott does not decide between them.

Fortunately, the place of his birth is known with greater certainty than the time. This was South Tavistock, in Devonshire. His father was a preacher, who embraced the

faith of the Reformers, at the time when Henry the Eighth, with rigid impartiality, was persecuting the Protestants and pillaging the Catholics. He was compelled, as we learn from Sir Francis Drake, to fly into Kent, while Drake himself was yet a child. There he resided in the hull of a vessel, in which several of his younger children were born ; and we wonder, that biographers, who are fond of explaining every thing, have not found in this circumstance a reason for the inclination shown by several of the family for the sea. After the death of Henry, which occurred in 1547, he “got a place,” says Camden, “among the seamen in the king’s navy, to read prayers to them ; and soon after, he was ordained deacon, and made vicar of the church of Upnore, upon the river Medway (the road where the fleet generally anchoreth).” Mr. Barrow says, that there is not now at Upnore, nor ever has been, either church or chapel. Here he is at issue with his own hero ; for Camden’s information was derived from Drake himself. Perhaps a temporary chapel may have been intended, while the place was visited by the fleet. It does not distinctly appear, at what time the father was compelled to fly from Devonshire ; it may have been in 1540, when the abbey of Tavistock was given by Henry to John Russell, who would hardly run the hazard of offending his royal benefactor by harbouring a heretic. If so, the course of events would well accord with our supposition respecting the time of Drake’s birth, but would be utterly irreconcilable with that of Stow.

Nothing is known with certainty of the father’s character ; poor as he unquestionably was, the only advantages of education which his children could possess must have been derived from him. A general impression has prevailed, that Sir Francis Drake was an unlettered person ; but such certainly was not the fact. We are indebted to the research of Mr. Barrow for the recovery of many of his letters, which compare advantageously, in every respect, with the best of those of the gentlemen and nobles of his time ; nor does his chirography, of which a specimen is given, warrant a different conclusion. The old writers do not afford us precise information on this point ; but their general panegyrics could hardly have been properly applied to an illiterate man. Stow describes him as of “a perfect memory, great observation, eloquent by nature.” Prince, in his “Worthies of Devon,”

adopts the language of Fuller, who speaks of him in terms of unqualified eulogy, but without alluding particularly to his literary attainments. Sir William Monson, who regards him with a far less favorable eye, says : " It is true, he would speak much and arrogantly, but eloquently, which bred a wonder in many, that his education could yield him those helps of nature." Sir Humphrey Gilbert's " True Report," published in 1583, contains, according to the fashion of the day, sundry poetical " commendations " ; one of the number is from the pen of Drake, and is written with an elegance which is not often found in that style of composition.

Whatever his advantages of education may have been, he certainly must have enjoyed them at an early age ; for, though nothing could well be more meagre than the accounts which have come down to us of his early history, we know, that, from his boyhood, his life was spent in vigorous and constant action. He was placed by his father with the master of a vessel, which was employed in voyages along the English coast, sometimes, however, visiting Zealand and the ports of France. In this calling, he exhibited a diligence which won the affection of his master, who, at his death, bequeathed to Drake his vessel. For some time, but how long we know not, the young sailor continued to prosecute a business, the character of which was singularly at variance with that of the enterprises in which he was afterwards employed. There is some confusion in the accounts given by different writers of his early voyages upon a more extended scale. In the preface to the voyage called the *Third*, the account of which was revised by Drake himself, he speaks of the wrong that he sustained at Rio da Hacha, when he sailed with Captain John Lovell, in 1565 and 1566. Camden assures us, that he sold his coasting vessel, upon hearing that Sir John Hawkins was fitting out an expedition for America, and went with some other seamen to Plymouth, in order to join him. This must have been in 1567. The last story omits the voyage with Lovell, of which, however, no account survives.

The principal object of Hawkins was the transportation of slaves from Africa to the Spanish American colonies ; a trade then carried on under the sanction of a treaty between England and Spain. We are induced to give some particulars respecting this voyage, in order to illustrate the relations

between the people of these respective countries, to which allusion has been already made, as well as to show what acts were not only tolerated, but considered meritorious. Hawkins had been engaged in the same traffic previously, with so much success, that Queen Elizabeth, among other marks of favor, gave him, as a crest to his coat of arms, "a demi-Moor, properly colored, bound with a cord." His armament upon this occasion consisted of six vessels, two of which were very small; the largest was lent him by the queen. One of the number, the *Judith*, was under the command of Drake. His name, however, is hardly mentioned in the narrations of the voyage; which, as respects him, is not otherwise important, than as serving to explain the causes of his unbounded aversion to the Spaniards ever after. The squadron proceeded to the coast of Africa, where they were provided with a supply of slaves by measures of such singular atrocity, that, but for the experience of later days, they would seem to belong rather to evil demons than to men. Hawkins himself relates them with entire composure and apparent satisfaction. Among his other recreations, was the destruction of a populous town by fire, with the view of more conveniently enslaving the inhabitants. After describing this scene, he proceeds to inveigh, in a strain of virtuous indignation, against the negroes, as sadly lacking in respect for truth.

He next sailed for the Spanish colonies, where he trafficked for a time without interruption; but at Rio da Hacha, the trade was prohibited by the authorities; and this rigid expounder of the law of nations, deeming the prohibition an infraction of the treaty, carried the place by storm, in order to inculcate sounder principles of commercial intercourse. The armament was shattered by successive storms, and at length reached the port of San Juan de Ulua; taking, on the way, three Spanish vessels, which contained one hundred passengers. "I found in this port," says Hawkins, "twelve ships, which had in them, by report, £200,000 in gold and silver; all which being in my possession, with the king's island, and also the passengers, before in my way thitherward stayed, I set at liberty, without taking from them the weight of a groat." He evidently considered himself as a miracle of abstinence and self-denial, in refraining from plundering the subjects of a friendly power to the full extent of his ability; and the Spaniards were not backward in affording

him an exposition of their views upon the subject of the law of nations, which were even more liberal than his own. They at first mistook the English squadron for an expected fleet from Spain. Afterwards, thirteen large ships appeared off the harbour, and Hawkins sent to inform their "general," that, before he would suffer them to enter, "there should be some order of conditions pass between us for our safe-being there, and maintenance of peace." To this the Spaniards reluctantly assented, and the conditions were arranged ; but when the suspicions of the English had been removed by the apparent sincerity of the other party, they were assailed by a superior force ; and after a desperate conflict, Hawkins was compelled to leave the port, with the loss of several vessels, and very many of his men. Drake's vessel, the *Judith*, was separated from him at the time of the disaster ; Hawkins himself, after encountering the extremity of suffering and privation, returned with only one. There can be no apology for this "treason" of the Spaniards ; but it is quite apparent, that neither party was at all inclined to be over-scrupulous in its dealings with the other, while the proceedings of the English had only the advantage of being undisguised and open. Mr. Barrow says, that there are detached accounts of this voyage, in which Drake is represented as having "done wonders with the little *Judith*" ; there can be no doubt that he conducted himself with his usual ability, but his station was a subordinate one, and afforded little opportunity of acquiring marked distinction.

The first enterprise, by which Drake acquired the great reputation for skill and bravery as a commander which he ever afterwards maintained, was undertaken in the year 1572. After his return from the disastrous voyage already mentioned, he made many efforts to obtain satisfaction for his losses from the government of Spain ; finding these entirely ineffectual, he appears to have concluded to rely upon himself alone for redress. In 1570 and 1571, he visited the West Indies, as is stated, with the view of gaining intelligence about these countries ; or, more probably, to ascertain at what point the Spanish colonies were most vulnerable. We are not about to enter upon a discussion of the morality of his enterprise, for we imagine that the propriety of making war on the subjects of a monarch with whom his own sovereign was at peace will hardly be defended. In any age, it

would not escape the reproach, and, if unsuccessful, the doom of piracy ; but we are not to suppose, that Drake himself, or his countrymen, regarded it in such a light. The state of policy at the time was such, that injuries offered to the Spaniards were either considered as acts of virtue, or at least as very pardonable sins. This may serve to show, that those who did them were not fully aware of their real character ; but it cannot change the character of the acts themselves. It is stated by Fuller, that Drake was advised by the minister of his ship, who must, we fear, have studied theology with Friar Tuck, that he might lawfully recover the amount of his losses from the King of Spain, in any part of his dominions. Some writers have intimated, apparently without foundation, that Drake's father was the spiritual counsellor in question. "The case," says Fuller, "was clear in sea divinity, and few are such infidels as not to believe doctrines which make for their own profit." Monson says, with considerable emphasis, of one of his subsequent expeditions, "though he deserved well in the direction and carriage of his journey, yet the ground of his enterprise was unjust, wicked, and unlawful; his design being to steal, and thereby to disturb the peace of princes, to rob the poor traveller, to shed the blood of the innocent, and to make wives widows, and children fatherless." Monson is, perhaps, a prejudiced witness ; it is not at all likely, that a doubt of the morality of the proceeding entered the mind of Drake, whose disposition appears to have been generous and humane ; but the effect of such enterprises is very fairly stated, and these citations show, that all men were not even then wholly insensible to their character. We can find a parallel for them in the privateering of our own day, by which many a man has profited, without reflecting that he was enriched by the wages of robbery and blood.

We have no space to enable us to repeat the story of this expedition, which has been made familiar by the narration of Johnson, as well as by other writers of less commanding fame. The original account is given in the work already mentioned : — "Sir Francis Drake Revived : calling upon this dull or effeminate Age to follow his noble Steps for Gold and Silver." Sir Philip Sidney's heart would hardly have been stirred by a trumpet-call like this. The work is understood to be the production of Drake's nephew, and it

derives a claim to still greater attention from the circumstance that it was revised by the Admiral himself. It is curious to read the details of the fitting out of the expedition, consisting as it did of two vessels, one of seventy tons, bearing the imposing name of the *Admiral*, and the other of twenty-five tons only. In a work, entitled "A Collection of Authentic Discoveries," it is stated, that "a ton in those days was four times what it was in 1763," when the work was published. If such were the fact, the vessels would still have been far from formidable ; for the whole number of men and boys in both was only seventy-three. With this force, Drake sailed from Plymouth on the 24th of May, 1572.

On his arrival at Port Pheasant, a place which he had previously visited, he was accidentally joined by an English vessel, manned by thirty persons, the captain of which agreed to remain to guard the ships, while Drake, distributing his men into pinnaces, proceeded to complete the purpose of his expedition. The number of his force was now but seventy-three ; and with this he proposed to attack the town of Nombre de Dios, where the treasures of Peru and Mexico were stored, before they were conveyed to Spain. A scheme of greater hardihood could not well have been devised ; and it was carried into execution with abundant energy and skill. He came into the neighbourhood by night. Finding his followers somewhat dismayed by the accounts which they had received of the strength of the place, he took advantage of the rising of the moon to persuade them that the day was dawning, and pushed forward to the attack a few hours after midnight. A Spanish vessel had just arrived in the bay ; and the men on board, seeing the pinnaces, despatched a boat to give warning to the town. The boat was intercepted by Drake, and forced to the other side of the bay, and the English landed without interruption at the battery. A solitary gunner was stationed there, who fled at their approach and alarmed the town. Leaving a small detachment to protect the pinnaces, Drake rushed forward into the centre of the place, where he dispersed a body of Spaniards, who were hastily assembled to receive him. A small party was sent to break open the king's treasure-house, while he, at the head of the rest, went to the governor's residence, where the silver was deposited. A lamp was burning there, by the aid of which he saw what must have

seemed to him like the contents of Aladdin's cave ; while the treasure-house, the repository of the gold and jewels, might well have represented the long-sought El Dorado. In one of the lower apartments was a mass of silver in bars, measuring, according to their hasty computation, seventy feet in length, ten in breadth, and twelve in height. Thence he proceeded to the treasure-house ; but before it could be broken open, he became faint from the loss of blood, proceeding from a wound received in the skirmish, which, through fear of discouraging his followers, he had concealed from them till now. Without heeding his orders and entreaties, they retired, bearing him precipitately to the pinnacle, leaving the work of plunder but half finished. This may serve as an example of the skill and hardihood with which Drake pursued his purpose ; for an attack on the place, under any other circumstances, by a force like his, could hardly have failed to be disastrous.

It was in the course of this expedition, when endeavouring to intercept a caravan laden with the royal treasures, that Drake is represented to have ascended a tree, from the top of which he could at once discern the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Steps had been cut in the trunk, to render the ascent more easy, and an arbor, large enough to accommodate twelve men, constructed in the branches. Drake's imagination was excited by this imposing spectacle, and he bound himself by a vow to visit the South Sea at a future day, with the view of exploring it further than any who had gone before him. Nuñez de Balboa had first discovered it, in 1513, and had taken possession of it in the name of the king of Castile, with ceremonies in which the solemn was brought into close alliance with the ludicrous. After various devotional exercises, concluding with the erection of a heap of stones, in the place of an altar, on the elevated spot whence he first beheld its waters, he walked up to his middle in the surf, begirt with sword and target, and announced to those around him, that the Pacific ocean, with all that appertained thereto, was thenceforward the property of his royal master. Mr. Prescott has made all readers familiar with the later efforts of Cortés to prosecute discoveries in this new sea. Our countryman, Mr. Stephens, appears to have either forgotten the incident respecting Drake, which we have just related, or to be disposed to doubt the story. From the top

of the great volcano of Cartago, he saw the two oceans at the opposite points of the harbour of San Juan and the Gulf of Nicoya ; and in his description of the scene, he remarks, that there is no other point in the world which commands a view of both. In a note he adds, that he has been informed by several persons who have crossed the isthmus from Chagres to Panamá, that there is no point on the road from which the two seas are visible. This fact, however, does not absolutely contradict the account of Drake ; if the view cannot be obtained from the road, possibly it might be from an elevated station.

After an absence of a little more than fourteen months, Drake returned to England, with an ample store of Spanish gold and silver ; and was welcomed by his countrymen with an enthusiasm, which showed that there were few misgivings as to the morality of his proceedings ; though his friend Camden, in allusion to this enterprise, speaks of him as having obtained "a pretty store of money, by playing the seaman and the pirate." The impression that it made upon the public mind is illustrated by the fact, that Davenant, about a century afterwards, wrought its prominent incidents into a drama, entitled "*The History of Sir Francis Drake, expressed by instrumental and vocal Music, and by Art of Perspective in Scenes,*" &c. The fourth scene opens with a view of hills, a wood, and a tree of extraordinary compass and height. The last is apostrophized by Drake in these words :

"Is this that most renown'd of Western trees
On whose main-top
Thou gavest me hope
To see the North and South *Atlantick* seas?"

In what manner the time of Drake was spent in the interval between the termination of this expedition and the voyage round the world, his biographer has not been able to inform us, farther than that he was engaged in service under the Earl of Essex, in Ireland. That disastrous expedition, so far as Drake was concerned, however, began and ended in 1576 ; though the language of Mr. Barrow seems to convey the impression, that he was engaged in it three years earlier. All that we know of his proceedings is, that he fitted out, at his own expense, three frigates, a name then applied to small pinnaces propelled by sails and oars ; and that "he did excellent service, both by sea and land, at the win-

ning of divers strong forts." Such is the brief account of Stow; and nothing has been added to it by the research of other writers. It was about this time, that Drake first became acquainted with Sir Christopher Hatton, of dancing memory, by whom he was presented to the queen. His reception was a very flattering one; and it is stated, that she encouraged him to persist in his attacks upon the Spanish colonies. This is sufficiently probable; and it presents a curious illustration of the character of the relation subsisting between England and Spain, leading to a course of policy on both sides, by no means distinguished for sincerity or elevation. Most of the chroniclers assert, that she remarked to him, on this occasion, "I account that he who striketh thee, Drake, striketh me." Mr. Barrow expresses the opinion, that this remark must have been made at a later period; but it was the language of mere compliment, and might, for aught we can see, have been uttered as well at the time represented, as at any other. There is more reason for the doubt which he suggests, whether she then, as some historians assert, gave him a commission to make reprisals. He wanted no encouragement to induce him to do this; and she was not the person to furnish evidence, under her own hand, of her infidelity to her engagements.

So far as the boldness of the enterprise and the skill with which it was conducted are concerned, this voyage round the world, which was begun in 1577, merits all the praise bestowed on it by English writers. Mr. Barrow, in his account of it, relies upon the following authorities: first, upon "The World Encompassed," which was published in 1628, and purports to have been prepared from the "notes of Master Francis Fletcher, preacher in this employment, and compared with divers others' notes that went in the same voyage." Of this he declares, that Thomas Drake, the Admiral's brother, and his associate on the voyage, was the reviser or chief compiler. He gives no authority, however, for this assertion. The work was published by Sir Francis Drake, the nephew of the Admiral, and the son of Thomas. To the materials thus afforded, he has added copious extracts from a copy of Fletcher's manuscript, in the Sloane collection, in the British Museum, of which he tells us, that one John Conyers was the copyist and annotator. More than sixty years ago, this manuscript was unceremoniously

used by one David Henry, who ascribes it to John Cook, meaning, perhaps, the copyist mentioned by Mr. Barrow; and it was subsequently used by Captain Burney.

It must not be supposed, however, that no printed account of this important voyage existed previously to the publication of "The World Encompassed." In 1594, fourteen years after its completion, an account of it appeared in a treatise on navigation, by M. Blundevile, of Newton Flotman; it was, however, brief, and written according to the fashion of a log-book. The author expresses the persuasion, that a narrative had been prepared by Drake himself, and earnestly exhorts him to give it to the world. Another account appeared in 1599, four years after the death of Drake, in the eighth volume of De Bry's collection of voyages. This was a translation from the English manuscript of Francis Pretty, who was one of Drake's companions in the expedition. The account was also published in London, in the following year, and inserted by Hakluyt in the third volume of his voyages. We learn from Hakluyt, that he intended to have published an account of Drake's voyages in the volume which he printed in 1589; but that he was deterred, by having "been seriously dealt withal, not to anticipate another man's pains and charge." We are told by Lowndes, however, that this apprehension did not deter him from printing it privately, and inserting it in some copies of his work, together with a map, on which was marked the track of the *Golden Hind*, which bore the flag of Drake; but that only a single copy of this map was known to be extant.

Among the incidents of this voyage, there is none that seems to have given rise to more discussion, than the execution of Thomas Doughty. This ill-fated personage is described in the manuscript of Fletcher as a man of many accomplishments, "a sufficient secretary to a noble personage of great place, and in Zealand an approved soldier, and not behind many in the study of the law for his time." He served in the expedition as a volunteer, and appears to have previously enjoyed the regard and confidence of Drake. When the squadron reached the Cape de Verde Islands, he was appointed to the command of a Portuguese prize. While acting in this capacity, he was charged with appropriating to his use some property belonging to the common stock. The

accusation was found, on inquiry, to be entirely groundless ; but Drake thought it expedient to remove him from the prize to his own ship, where he gave him a command second only to his own. The complaints of his conduct were continued ; and he was at length displaced, and put under arrest. On the arrival of the squadron at Port San Julian, he was charged with a mutinous design, to murder the general and some of his principal officers ; and after an investigation of the charges by the captains and gentlemen of the fleet, he was adjudged guilty, and executed. There is some confusion in the various accounts of this transaction, and it is impossible to obtain a clear view of the nature of the alleged offence. “ *The World Encompassed* ” speaks of it as a plot to murder the general and some of his immediate friends, conceived before the departure of the squadron, and made known at that time to Drake, who could not believe the representation to be well founded. The same authority adds, that Doughty, after his trial, admitted his guilt in the most unequivocal manner. Fletcher’s manuscript leaves the impression, that the writer regarded him as innocent ; and asserts, that he utterly denied the truth of the accusation, “ upon his salvation, at the hour of communicating the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, at the hour and moment of his death.” The account in Hakluyt intimates no doubt of the guilt of the accused, and states, that “ the particulars of the cause ” were found to be true, partly by Doughty’s own confession, and partly by the testimony of others. Camden relates the facts of his trial and condemnation without any comment of his own, but adds the following singular remark : “ And, indeed, the most impartial persons in the fleet were of opinion that he had acted seditiously ; and that Drake cut him off as an emulator of his glory, and one that regarded not so much who he himself excelled in commendations for sea-matters, as who he thought might equal him.” No doubt, as Mr. Barrow observes, “ a mystery hangs over the whole proceeding ” ; because we are left in ignorance of most of the circumstances, the knowledge of which is quite indispensable to enable us to form a correct judgment. Still, in the absence of such information, we are by no means entitled to conclude, that a man like Drake, distinguished for courage and humanity, would, from mere wantonness, without any adequate motive, deliberately sanc-

tion the murder of an innocent man, who had ever been his friend. Nor does the proceeding appear to have given occasion to any investigation, nor even to any complaint, after the return of Drake to England. It was shortly after this affair, that Winter, one of the captains of the squadron, separated from it and brought his vessel home. Southey has suggested, that this separation may have been occasioned by dissatisfaction on the part of Winter, growing out of Doughty's execution ; but this is mere conjecture, and is contradicted by the fact, that neither Winter himself, nor any of his company, appears to have entertained a doubt of the propriety of the proceeding. In the account of Winter's voyage by one of his company, given in Hakluyt, the facts are mentioned briefly, without a word of comment.

Mr. Barrow observes, that some imperious necessity must have governed Drake's conduct in the case of Doughty ; and, with rare ignorance of the subject which he treats so oracularly, remarks :

“ This is the plea set up by Captain Slidell McKenzie of the American ship *Somers*, when he hanged three of his crew without trial ! ‘ In the necessity of my position,’ he says, ‘ I found my law.’ But, as the proverb goes, necessity *has* no law, *ergo*, the men were hanged not by *any* law. He might have had recourse to a court-martial. In Drake's time no such courts existed.”

Mr. Barrow, in his account of this voyage, gives us another specimen of solemn jocularity, in a strain which savours a little of the fore-castle. After describing the course of Drake along the western coast of North America, he says :

“ Thus we may observe, that this portion of the west coast of America was indeed discovered, and taken possession of in the usual manner, by an Englishman, in the name of his sovereign, full 200 years before the United States of America had any existence ; and yet they have the modesty to lay claim to it, on the assumption, that a Captain Gray, or White, or some other color, discovered it some few years ago ; — but discovery, or prescription, as Queen Elizabeth justly said, ‘ is little worth without actual possession ’ ; if it were not so, what, indeed, would become of our title to Australia and Van Dieman's Land, with a host of Dutch names staring us in the face ? ”

The exquisite taste exhibited in this passage is worthy of

the argument, which rests the vindication of a wrongful claim upon the necessity of upholding others of the same description. We can only hope, that these luminous views of international law will not do prejudice to the interests of this country in any pending negotiations.

On his return from this remarkable voyage, in which Drake displayed a combination of qualities rarely found united even in the leaders of great enterprises, he was obliged to remain for some time without the sunshine of the royal favor. Queen Elizabeth was probably hesitating whether policy might require her to denounce him, or whether she might share the spoil he had brought with him, accept his presents, and recompense him with empty honors. In the course of five or six months, she had formed her resolution, and rewarded him by visiting his ship, and conferring upon him the honor of knighthood. But the people, whom no considerations of policy withheld from the expression of their feelings, welcomed him with a general chorus of praise and admiration. Chroniclers and poets poured forth their treasures of eloquence, largely embroidered with the extravagant conceits so common at that day. Holinshed was desirous that Drake's vessel should be fixed "upon the stumpe of Paul's steeple, in lieu of the spire," not so much as an architectural ornament, as a memorial in the eyes of the people of the noble enterprise. "The sun," says Purchas, "followed him all the way, as if that excellent and heavenly light had delighted himself in his society." He was honored also by the higher praise of Cowley and Ben Jonson.

From this time until the well known voyage of 1585, we hear nothing of Sir Francis Drake, excepting that, in 1582, he held the office of Mayor of Plymouth; a post not remarkably well suited to the display of his prevailing traits of character, and affording no great harvest to his biographer, who has been able to redeem from oblivion only two incidents, and those far from momentous; one, that the order for wearing scarlet gowns was carried into execution during his mayoralty; the other, "that the compass was erected on the Hoe," a hill in the neighbourhood of the city. The voyage of 1585 is interesting to Americans, in consequence of the visit paid by the squadron to our coast; but Mr. Barrow has added nothing to our stock of information on the subject. He has, however, been led by the mention of Vir-

ginia to indulge himself in the recreation of presenting to the reader his deliberate views on the subject of tobacco ; the name of which he traces to that of the island of Tobago ; apparently not aware of the much more plausible etymology suggested by Humboldt, who derives it from the appellation given by the natives of St. Domingo to the pipe in which it is smoked. Mr. Barrow's remarks upon the habit of using it are sound and edifying, though he is led by his antipathy into the employment of terms not more savoury than the article itself.

But the time was at hand, when the shrinking and not very honorable policy of Spain and England was to be exchanged for another and a bolder tone. Dark clouds were gathering in the horizon, and the English made ready to meet the coming storm with a spirit worthy of the Saxon race. There is no period in their history, in which their energy and fortitude were more signally displayed ; none more critical ; none more momentous in its influence upon succeeding times. Who can venture to say, what would have been the present condition of Europe, of America, of all the nations, if the courage of our ancestors had failed in that eventful hour ? Great exigencies are the parent of all the lofty traits of character. Elizabeth and her ministers rose at once above the level of their dark and unscrupulous, though singularly cunning policy, and made to their countrymen the only appeal that finds an answer in the hearts of the generous and brave. By the Spanish, the projected invasion was regarded as a crusade against the worst enemies of the true faith ; on the part of England, it was a struggle for independence as a nation. It has been said, that the final demands of the Spanish court were conveyed through the medium of four Latin verses ; and that Elizabeth, who was as proud of her scholarship as of her beauty, and with better reason, replied in the same manner. However this may have been, it was no season for a jest. At this period, the great qualities of Sir Francis Drake shone forth with unstained lustre. It is the portion of his history, on which are laid the foundations of his real fame, and on which his biographer must prefer to dwell. Fortunately, the industry of Mr. Barrow has thrown light upon his services and conduct at this crisis, by recovering portions of his correspondence, which are interesting alike from their relation to the general history of the time, and

from the illustration which they afford of his own character. These are of the greatest value, because it is quite obvious, that Drake himself was the real leader of the naval operations, though the nominal command of all the forces was given to another ; and there can be little doubt, that the final result is to be attributed far more to his energy and judgment, than to the efforts of any other individual. To him was assigned the honor of giving to the invading armament the first decisive blow.

It was now of the utmost importance to watch the state of the enemy's preparations, and, if possible, to arrest the departure of the invading fleet, by intercepting its supplies, or in any other way that chance should offer. This service was assigned to Drake, who entered on it with his usual activity and vigor. With a squadron consisting of four vessels assigned to him by the queen, and some twenty more added by the city of London, he set sail from Plymouth on the second day of April. Ascertaining on the way, that the enemy were busily employed in embarking stores at Cadiz to supply their fleet, he directed his course towards that port, and, on the nineteenth of April, entered the harbour. There he was assailed by five galleys, which soon retired for shelter under the guns of the castle. "We founde," says Drake, in a business-like letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, "sondrie greate shippes, some laden, some half-laden, and some readie to be laden with the kinge's provisions for Englande. We staid there untill the 21st, in which meane tyme we sanke a Biskanie of 12 C (1200) tonnes, burnte a shippe oft he Marques of Santa Cruse of 15 C tonnes, and 31 shippes more, of 1000, 800, 600, 400, to 200 tonnes the piece, and carried awaie fower with us laden with provision, and departed thence with as much honour as we coulde wishe, notwithstandinge that duringe the tyme of our aboade there we were bothe oftentimes foughte withall by 12 of the kinge's gallies (of whome we sanke two) and allwaies repulsed the reste, and were (without ceasinge) vehementlie shotte at from the shoare, but to our little hurte, God be thanked." The Marquess of Santa Cruz was the destined leader of the Armada ; a few months after, he died, in consequence, as some writers are pleased to say, of mortification at the success of the daring enterprise.

After capturing many vessels, and making a descent upon

the coast, the English admiral proceeded to Lisbon. The Marquess of Santa Cruz was lying with his galleys at Cascais, but made no attempt to arrest the course of Drake, who continued the work of destruction as before. It is curiously illustrative of the manners of the time, that it was agreed by the English captains, after a proposal for the exchange of prisoners had been declined by the Spanish admiral, for the sufficient reason that he had none to exchange, "that all suche Spanyards, as yt shall please God to sende under our hands, shall be solde unto the Mowres, and the money reserved for the redemyng of such of our cuntryemen as may be redemed therwith." Sailing thence to the Azores, they captured a Portuguese "carrak" laden with a cargo so valuable, that the officers and men became anxious to return forthwith to England to enjoy their portion of the prize, and Drake, having accomplished the chief objects of the voyage, acceded to their wishes. He had already so far deranged the plans of the enemy, that they were compelled to defer the execution of them until the following year, and, what was more important, had taught them to respect the boldness and hardihood of the English. Mr. Barrow quotes largely from some curious documents, showing the consequence attached by Queen Elizabeth to the treasure taken in the prize, and from others relating to a difficulty between the admiral and one of his captains, who was transported with indignation, because the movements of the squadron were not regulated according to his wishes.

If credit is to be attached to the stories of contemporary annalists, the next year, 1588, had long been noted by prophets and astrologers. According to Camden, one of them, who is said by Darcie to have been the well known Regiomontanus, had pointed it out a century before, as "the Admirable Year." Stow confirms the fact of the predictions, and Fuller professes himself unable to determine from what quarter the soothsayers derived their information, intimating, however, that the source may have been a diabolical one. The oracles, like most others of the kind, appear to have been prudently indefinite, leaving it to time to settle the details. It was in the spring of this year, that the Spanish Armada, all its preparations being completed, put to sea, under orders to proceed to the coast of France, where it was to be joined by the forces of the Duke of Parma. A

formidable armament, indeed, it was ; consisting of one hundred and thirty-two vessels, of about 60,000 tons, with 30,000 men, under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. The regular English fleet, on the other hand, included less than forty vessels, but was swelled on this occasion by voluntary contributions to the number of about two hundred, comprehending about 30,000 tons, and 16,000 men ; but the number of their guns hardly exceeded a fourth of those of the enemy. Indeed, the Spanish navy at this time was the most formidable in the world ; and their vessels were of a larger and more efficient class than those of England. Lord Howard of Effingham, a brave, judicious, and popular man, but with little nautical experience, held the rank of Lord High Admiral ; but, as we have said, the real leader was the second in command, Sir Francis Drake ; and he was deficient in none of the qualities required by such a crisis. Hawkins, Frobisher, and others of distinguished name, were also there. The largest ship was that of Frobisher, of eleven hundred tons, carrying forty-two guns, and five hundred men ; but the Lord High Admiral's flag was borne by the *Ark Royal*, of eight hundred tons. Several of the English vessels were of a burden varying from seventy tons to thirty, and very far from formidable ; these, as Mr. Barrow suggests, "must have required uncommon vigilance to keep them out of harm's way." But the English inferiority of force was amply compensated by the spirit of the people ; who echoed, with stern enthusiasm, the lofty sentiment of their queen. "I think foul scorn, that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms." In estimating the confidence and spirit by which they were animated at this crisis, it should not be forgotten, that the "meteor flag of England" had not then blazed upon the deep as it did in after-times ; there was then no terror in the British name.

In his detail of the operations of the fleets, the author makes liberal use of the journal of an officer on board the flag-ship of the Spanish admiral, of which the manuscript was obtained in the archives of Madrid. It appears, as he says, to be a sensible and modest narrative ; but in following it, he has forgotten to set the personal exploits of Drake in as clear a light as he might have done. The instructions given to the Spanish admiral required him to proceed to the

coast of France, with a view to the coöperation of the Duke of Parma ; but receiving intelligence at Corunna, which led him to believe that the English fleet might be taken by surprise in the Sound of Plymouth, he sailed directly thither, in disregard of his instructions ; and the projected union did not take place. This proceeding was so injudicious, that it could hardly have been anticipated by the English commanders ; and we find that Drake, with a just foresight of the importance of preventing such a union, frequently urged upon the queen the importance of attacking the enemy upon his own coast ; but his advice was disregarded, from the fear of leaving that of England quite defenceless. His whole conduct, however, appears to have been distinguished by a prudence, activity, and bravery, which could not be surpassed. Nor can the result be better told than in the energetic language employed by Drake himself, in refutation of the statements of the Spaniards.

“They were not ashamed to publish, in sundry languages, in print, great victories in words, which they pretended to have obtained against this realm, and spread the same in a most false sort over all parts of France, Italy, and elsewhere : when, shortly after, it was happily manifested in very deed to all nations, how their navy, which they termed invincible, consisting of one hundred and forty sail of ships, not only of their own kingdom, but strengthened with the greatest argosies, Portugal carracks, Florentines, and large hulks of other countries, were, by thirty of her Majesty’s own ships of war, and a few of our merchants, by the wise, valiant, and advantageous conduct of the Lord Charles Howard, High Admiral of England, beaten and shuffled together even from the Lizard in Cornwall, first to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdet, with his mighty ship ; from Portland to Calais, where they lost Hugh de Moncado, with the galleys of which he was captain ; and from Calais, driven with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the sight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland ; where, for the sympathy of their religion, hoping to find succour and assistance, a great part of them were crushed against the rocks, and those other that landed, being very many in number, were, notwithstanding, broken, slain, and taken ; and so sent from village to village, coupled in halters, to be shipped into England, where her Majesty, of her princely and invincible disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retain or entertain them, they were all sent back again to their countries to witness and

recount the worthy achievement of their invincible and dreadful navy. Of which the number of soldiers, the fearful burden of their ships, the commanders' names of every squadron, with all other, their magazines of provisions, were put in print, as an army and navy irresistible and disdaining prevention; with all which their great terrible ostentation they did not, in all their sailing round about England, so much as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace, or cock-boat of ours, or even burn so much as one sheepcote on this land."

The story is told by Mr. Barrow principally through the medium of extracts from the Spanish journal, and interesting letters of the Lord High Admiral and Sir Francis Drake. When he speaks in his own person, he displays occasional peculiarities of style which somewhat impair the effect of the narration. He speaks, for example, of the "hellish" superstition of a Spanish Roman Catholic; and, alluding to an oversight of Drake, in omitting to carry lights according to the orders of the Admiral, we are assured, with touching earnestness, that he "nearly got into a scrape."

The expedition to Spain and Portugal in 1589, undertaken partly with the view of distressing the former, and partly with the view of restoring Don Antonio to the Portuguese throne, which he claimed by virtue of a popular election, was not attended with complete success. Its prominent incidents are generally known; Mr. Barrow has given additional interest to some of them by the letters of the admiral, who seems to have acted his part on this, as on all other occasions, with ability and judgment. It has been said, that he was desirous of proceeding directly to Lisbon, before time could be afforded to make preparations for defence; but that the commander of the land forces insisted on landing at Corunna, to annoy the Spaniards. If so, it is not the only instance in which the English have acted on the system of assailing an enemy by thrusting pins into his extremities, instead of aiming at the heart.

In the interval between this expedition and that of 1595, Sir Francis Drake was actively employed, under the direction of the queen, in watching the movements of his old enemies, the Spaniards. In 1593, he took his seat in Parliament as a member from Plymouth, then his place of residence, and, though rising seldom in debate, was laborious, active, and much respected. This city has reason to cherish his memo-

ry. It was to his liberality and enterprise, that it was indebted for the supply of fresh water which it has enjoyed from that time to ours ; and there are various facts on record, which show that he was at all times careful of its interests. Mr. Barrow mentions his efforts to provide for its defence at a particular period ; he does not mention the year, but his language leaves no doubt, that he supposes them to have been made in 1589. It must, however, have been earlier ; for on the May-day of that year, when he says that Drake took order for the regular keeping of watch and ward, the admiral was on his way to Corunna. There is another error of a similar kind. He says that, while Drake was preparing for his last voyage, he earnestly recommended to the Lords of the Privy Council to make various arrangements for the protection of the sea-coast ; and that he was moved to do this by a descent made by the Spaniards during the preceding year. But this irruption of the Spaniards actually took place when the expedition was on the point of sailing, and was the means of delaying its departure ; and it was probably at this time that the letter of Drake was written, having been suggested by a recent warning, rather than one of a year's standing.

The author's account of the expedition to the West Indies and South America, which was rendered memorable by the death of Sir John Hawkins and his far greater associate, Sir Francis Drake, though attended with no brilliant success, presents us with no novel information. There is no want of materials for the use of the writer of its history. A copious journal of its incidents can be found in Hakluyt, and another in the quarto edition of "*Sir Francis Drake Revived*," published in 1652. Mr. Barrow says nothing of the authorship of these journals. The last was probably written by Thomas Drake, and published by his son ; it contains some facts which are not found in the other, which is, in general, the more particular and better of the two. Various explanations have been given of the causes which induced these veteran admirals to engage in this unfortunate adventure. Some have supposed, that Hawkins, now an old man, was stung by a sarcasm of the queen, on the occasion of his return from an unsuccessful expedition, a few years before ; others, that he was impelled by the hope of rescuing a son, who was held as a captive by the Spaniards. It has been said, too, that Drake was accused by some of hav-

ing failed in the expedition against Spain and Portugal. But surely, the reputation of both must have rested upon foundations too strong to be affected by any suggestions to their prejudice. That of Drake, in particular, must have placed him immeasurably above them. In fact, it was by no means unnatural, that men of unwearied energy, whose whole lives had been passed in constant action, should find pleasure in returning, to the element where they had already gained their fame and honors. Both fell victims to disease upon the coast of Spanish America. It was upon the 28th of January, 1596, that Sir Francis Drake breathed his last ; his body was committed to the deep ; and as the last honors were paid by his companions to the memory of one so eminent, they might well have responded to the eulogy in the epitaph written by an unknown admirer of his fame :

“ The sea, that was his glory, is his grave.”

We know not who was the author of the following “ quaint conceit ” ; but as it is too good to be lost, we place it before our readers :

“ O Nature, to old England still
Continue these mistakes ;
Give us for our Kings such Queens,
And for our *Dux* such Drakes.”

If Sir Francis Drake is to be considered second to any in the long line of the great naval commanders of his country, the name of Nelson only is crowned with higher glory ; and considering the state of the British navy in his day, and the surpassing talent with which he availed himself of limited resources, it is doubtful whether even this exception can be made with justice. There is no more emphatic evidence of his reputation in his own day, than the fact that, after the overthrow of the Armada, he was solicited by the Lord High Admiral himself to mention him with commendation to the queen. His personal character was illustrated by many virtues ; he was liberal, high-minded, and generous ; and though for a time led by the spirit of his age into enterprises which cannot be commended, he conducted them with a degree of humanity of which the time gave few examples, and abandoned them for the higher purpose of serving and doing honor to his country.*

* In the preparation of this article, we have availed ourselves freely of the results of the research of Mr. Samuel G. Drake, a gentleman whose name is honorably known to the public in more than one field of antiquarian inquiry.